

Message Text

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NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15
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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5469

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USNATO

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USIA WASHDC

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USCINCUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 1590

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, OCON

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SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE--DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, FEBRUARY 24TH

SUMMARY: NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) CAUCUS HAS ASSO-
CIATED ITSELF LOOSELY WITH YUGOSLAV DRAFT CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT AS LAST-DITCH EFFORT TO PRODUCE TEXT WITH
SOME SUBSTANCE. ALLIES, THROUGH AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG
AND DANISH AMBASSADOR, HAVE ADVISED YUGOSLAVS BOTH

PRIVATELY AND IN LUNCH WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR THAT DOCUMENT IS UNBALANCED. IT MUST EITHER HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS-HUMAN CONTACTS ADDED TO IT OR IT MUST BE REDUCED TO BARE BONES FACTUAL STATEMENT. SOVIETS ARE SAYING THAT THEY CAN ACCEPT ALMOST ALL OF IT THOUGH THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WISH TO MAKE A NUMBER OF "SMALL" CHANGES THAT IN EFFECT WOULD FURTHER UNBALANCE IT. NNA ARE MEETING WITH WARSAW PACT DELS THIS EVENING AND WILL MEET WITH ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES MORNING OF FEBRUARY 25 IN EFFORT TO DETERMINE IF REAL NEGOTIATION IS POSSIBLE. IT APPEARS, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH ALLIES AND SOVIETS ARE ENGAGED IN TACTICAL GAME WITH OBJECTIVE OF PLACING ONUS ON OTHER SIDE FOR FINAL MOVE TO BRIEF, NON-SUBSTANTIVE TEXT. THAT FINAL MOVE COULD COME SOON AS NUMBER OF INFORMAL CONTACTS AND CONSULTATIONS IS INCREASING. SOVIETS ARE CONTINUING THEIR INTRANSIGENCE ON MADRID FOLLOW-UP MODALITIES, HOWEVER, AN APPARENTLY PROCEDURAL ISSUE THAT GIVES NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS ACROSS WIDE IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM CONCERN FOR FUTURE SHAPE OF CSCE PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

1. NNA CAUCUS, WHICH HAD BEEN UNABLE TO AGREE ON ITS OWN VERSION OF A SHORT-FORM CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, MET IN MORNING AND DECIDED TO BACK UP UNILATERAL YUGOSLAV EFFORT BEGUN FEBRUARY 23. WITHOUT FORMALLY SUPPORTING
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TEXT CIRCULATED BY YUGOSLAVS THURSDAY, NNA AGREED THAT THEY WOULD LEND ENCOURAGEMENT BY PARTICIPATING IN SOUNDING-OUT EFFORTS TO DETERMINE IF THERE WAS REAL POSSIBILITY OF BRINGING EAST AND WEST INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION ON BASIS OF YUGOSLAV PAPER.

2. AMBASSADOR DOLDBERG EXPLAINED PRIVATELY TO YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR PESIC IN MORNING THAT ALLIES CANNOT ACCEPT A SUBSTANTIVELY UNBALANCED TEXT WHICH, BECAUSE IT IGNORED HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASKET THREE HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUES, YUGOSLAV DRAFT WAS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMBASSADOR MELLBIN REPEATED THIS LINE TO PESIC LATER AT LUNCH ALSO ATTENDED BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV. ALLIED AMBASSADORS EXPLAINED ON BEHALF OF NATO CAUCUS THAT WHILE WE WOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ON BASIS OF YUGOSLAV TEXT, THAT DOCUMENT WOULD HAVE TO HAVE BALANCE RESTORED EITHER BY ADDITION OF POINTS OF BASIC INTEREST TO WEST OR BY SUBTRACTION OF SELECTIVE SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS YUGOSLAVS HAD INCLUDED. SINCE LUNCH WAS INTENDED AS GENERAL PROBING OPERATION, ALLIED AMBASSADORS DID NOT REVIEW YUGOSLAV DRAFT PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH OR EXPLAIN CONCEPT OF NATO CAUCUS DRAFT IN DETAIL.

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3. VORONTSOV SAID THAT SOVIETS WERE WILLING TO TAKE
YUGOSLAV TEXT AS BASIS OF NEGOTIATION AND IN FACT COULD
ACCEPT "99 PERCENT" (A FIGURE LATER DROPE TO 90 PERCENT IN
CORRIDOR CONVERSATION). SOVIET AMBASSADOR SAID ONLY ONE PARA-
GRAPH, INFORMATION EXPERTS GROUP, WOULD HAVE TO BE DROPPED
IN ENTIRETY. SOVIETS WOULD ALSO WANT A VERY FEW CHANGES IN
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OTHER PARAGRAPHS. SUBSEQUENTLY, HOWEVER, VORONTSOV ADMITTED THAT NUMERICALLY FEW WORD CHANGES MIGHT MAKE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE IN TEXT. WE LEARNED IN CORRIDORS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT SOVIETS WOULD WISH TO RECAST PUTATIVE CBM EXPERTS GROUP MANDATE. YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR HEARD BOTH SIDES OUT AND MADE FEW COMMENTS. FOUR AMBASSADORS AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD STAY IN TOUCH AND MEET AGAIN SOON, BUT ALLIED AMBASSADORS, IN ORDER TO AVOID APPEARANCE OF BEING RUSHED, TURNED ASIDE VORONTSOV SUGGESTION THAT THEY CONVENE AGAIN THIS EVENING.

4. WITH CONSULTATIONS IN PROGRESS, AFTERNOON PLENARY ADJOURNED WITHOUT SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OR ORIGINALLY PROMISED SOVIET EFFORT TO PUSH FOR AGREEMENT ON CLOSING SCHEDULE. ONLY PLENARY DECISION WAS TO MEET AGAIN AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 27.

5. SUBSEQUENTLY NNA SET UP SEPARATE MEETINGS TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH WARSAW PACT THIS EVENING AND WITH ALLIES FEBRUARY 25 AT 1100. NATO CAUCUS DECIDED TO BE REPRESENTED AGAIN BY AMBASSADORS GOLDBERG AND MELLBIN.

6. ALLIES BELIEVE THAT NNA SUPPORT FOR YUGOSLAV INITIATIVE REMAINS SHALLOW AND DICTATED AT LEAST AS MUCH BY DESIRE TO BE POLITE TO HOST COUNTRY AS BY ANY CONVICTION THAT IT CAN, OR EVEN IN ITS PRESENT FORM SHOULD, SUCCEED. WESTERN CAUCUS IS FIRM ON BASIC POINT THAT UNLESS YUGOSLAVS CAN SOMEHOW PERSUADE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT REAL SUBSTANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS-HUMAN CONTACTS, ALL SUBSTANCE IN PRESENT YUGOSLAV DRAFT MUST BE REJECTED. ALLIES AGREE IN PARTICULAR THAT EXPERTS MEETING PROPOSED BY YUGOSLAVS OTHER THAN TWO ALREADY MANDATED BY FINAL ACT CANNOT BE ACCEPTED SINCE THAT WOULD IMPLY, IN WORDS OF NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR, THAT DETENTE AND CSCE CAN BE SELECTIVE

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PROCESSES. CAUCUS DECIDED THAT AMBASSADORS GOLDBERG AND MELLBIN SHOULD EXPLAIN ALLIED CONCEPT OF A SHORT, NON-SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT IN SOME DETAIL AT FEBRUARY 25 MEETING SO THAT YUGOSLAVS WILL HAVE NO ILLUSIONS, BUT AGREED TO LEAVE IT TO AMBASSADORS' DISCRETION WHETHER AND WHEN TO SHOW NNA PARTIAL OR FULL TEXT OF WESTERN DRAFT. ALLIES ARE ALSO AGREED THAT YUGOSLAVS SHOULD BE GIVEN NO GIFTS IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT MERELY BECAUSE THEY ARE HOST COUNTRY SINCE THIS WOULD CREATE DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE CSCE MEETINGS.

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7. FRG AMBASSADOR ADVISED CAUCUS THAT FRG MADE
DEMARCHES TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN BONN AND TO DEPUTY
FOREIGN MINISTER IN MOSCOW (GROMYKO WAS INDISPOSED)
FEBRUARY 23 STRESSING TWO POINTS: A) THERE MUST BE A
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, AND B) IF IT CANNOT BE SUB-
STANTIVE, IT SHOULD NEVERTHELESS REFLECT IN FAIR AND
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OBJECTIVE WAY COURSE OF BELGRADE DISCUSSIONS. FRG
TOOK THIS STEP BECAUSE IT HAS CONCLUDED THAT GERMAN
PUBLIC OPINION WILL REGARD A COMMUNIQUE-LIKE CONCLUDING

DOCUMENT AS SIGN THAT DETENTE IS IN SERIOUS TROUBLE. GERMANS BELIEVE THAT IF SHORT DOCUMENT CAN BE LEAST CITE SPECIFIC AREAS WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AT BELGRADE AND NOTE THAT EXCHANGE OF DIFFERING VIEWS WAS USEFUL, NEGATIVE IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION WILL BE LESSENER. FRG HAS THEREFORE GIVEN ITS DELEGATION NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO SUPPORT STRONGLY LANGUAGE ON DIFFIERING VIEWS INSERTED IN ALLIED DRAFT EARLIER IN WEEK AT INSISTENCE OF AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG. CAUCUS ALSO AGREED THAT AMBASSADORS GOLDBERG AND MELLBIN SHOULD, IN EXPLAINING ALLIED CONCEPT OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, ATTEMPT TO GET SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF FOLLOWING SENTENCE THAT FRG SUGGESTS BE ADDED AFTER FIRST SENTENCE OF SECOND PARAGRAPH OF ALLIED DRAFT: BEGIN TEXT: IN PARTICULAR, VIEWS WERE EXPRESSED REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, NON-INTERVENTION, CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL AS WELL AS HUMAN CONTACTS, INFORMATION, CULTURE AND EDUCATION AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE FINAL ACT. END TEXT.

8. SITUATION REMAINS FLUID, BUT IT IS LIKELY THAT SOMETIME AFTER MEETING WITH NNA SATURDAY MORNING AMBASSADORS GOLDBERG AND MELLBIN WILL ALSO SEE AMBASSADOR VORONTSOV. NATO CAUCUS, WHICH INCIDENTALLY FRENCH HAVE REJOINED TODAY AFTER BEING ABSENT SICE TABLING OF THEIR OWN DRAFT FEBRUARY 17, BELIEVES SUCH A FURTHER MEETING WITH VORONTSOV IS USEFUL AT THIS STAGE BECAUSE ALLIES WISH TO ESTABLISH THAT NEGOTIATION IS NOT ONE BETWEEN WEST AND NNA. NATO CAUCUS WILL MEET TO ASSESS SITUATION AGAIN AT 1730.
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9. WHILE SITUATION STILL APPEARS TO BE EVOLVING FAIRLY RAPIDLY TOWARD A SHORT, NON-SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT CONSISTENT WITH BASIC ALLIED CONCEPT, FOLLOW-UP REMAINS JOKER IN PACK. TO ROUNDS OF CONSULTATIONS TODAY MADE NO PROGRESS ON ISSUE OF WHETHER OR NOT BELGRADE MEETING PROCEDURES (YELLOW BOOK) WILL BE ACCEPTED AS GUIDE FOR MADRID MEETING. SOVIETS CONTINUED INTRANSIGENT IN INSISTENCE THAT MADRID MEETING MUST BE COMPLETELY AT LIBERTY TO DECIDE ITS OWN COURSE. DANISH AMBASSADOR, WHO HAD BEEN TAKING LEAD FOR EC-9 ON THIS ISSUE, WAS ABSENT FROM CONSULTATIONS TODAY BECAUSE OF OTHER COMMITMENTS. U.S. REP, WHITH ENTHUSIASTIC ASSISTANCE FROM CANADIAN AMBASSADOR, TOOK STRONG STAND FOR LANGUAGE MAINTAINING PRIMACY OF BELGRADE YELLOW BOOK PROCEDURES. BECAUSE OF DEPTH OF DEADLOCK, NO FURTHER CONSULTATIONS ARE EXPECTED ON THIS ISSUE UNTIL FEBRUARY 27. AFTER LAST SESSION BROKE UP TODAY,

HOWEVER, ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR MADE PLEA TO U.S. REP
TO STAY FIRM SINCE, HE SAID, SOVIETS WERE TRYING TO
USE THIS PROCEDURAL DEVICE TO WEAKEN SERIOUSLY CSCE
FOLLOW-UP CONCEPT. ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR SAID THAT
POLES AND HUNGARIANS ALSO FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT THIS
ISSUE BUT CAN AFFORD TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR DISPLEASURE
WITH SOVIET POSITION ONLY INDIRECTLY, BUT NOT TAKING
PART IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS.
GOLDBERG

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TAGS: OCON, CSCE
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vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f08008ce-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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